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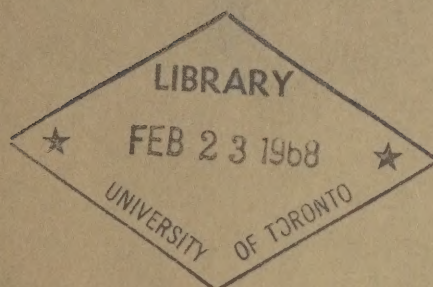
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Povungnetuk and its co-operative.
A case study in community change
by Frank G. Vallee. 1967.

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**POVUNGNETUK AND ITS COOPERATIVE.
A CASE STUDY IN COMMUNITY CHANGE
by FRANK G. VALLEE**



Report

NCRC-67-2

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POVUNGNETUK AND ITS COOPERATIVE:

A CASE STUDY IN COMMUNITY CHANGE

by

Frank G. Vallee

This report is based on research carried out while the author was employed by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre. It is reproduced here as a contribution to our knowledge of the North. The opinions expressed however are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department.

Requests for copies of this report should be addressed to Chief, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.

Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre,
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development,
Ottawa, December, 1967.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The field work upon which this monograph is based was completed in the Fall of 1963. It was hoped that a final draft would be ready for publication by the summer of 1965, because a first draft of it had been completed in 1964. Substantially, the present report is a slight revision of that first draft. The reason for the long delay in submitting it was pressure to fulfill other commitments, some of the most substantial of which were connected with the author's appointment as a member of the Northwest Territories Legislative Council in May, 1965. The duties of this appointment were performed while carrying on with full-time university work, leaving little time for the polishing of the draft of a monograph. However, three articles based on the field work were produced between 1964 and 1966.* Lengthy portions of the first of these articles were taken from the draft of the monograph completed in 1964 and so reappear in the present report.

It was not until the spring of 1967 that the author was able to set aside a number of days when continuous attention could be devoted to the writing of the final draft of the monograph. By that time there had been notable changes in the Povungnetuk community and in the total situation in Arctic Quebec. Furthermore an article by Arbess of relevance to cooperative development in Arctic Quebec had appeared and contained material pertinent

* "Notes on the Cooperative Movement and Community Organization in the Canadian Arctic", Arctic Anthropology, II, 2, 1964;
"Eskimo Theories of Mental Illness in the Hudson Bay Region", Anthropologica, N.S. VIII, 1, 1966;
"The Cooperative Movement in the North", in People of Light and Dark, Maja van Steensel (ed.), Ottawa, 1966.

to the present monograph.* It was tempting to bring the monograph up to date by checking out these changes and including a discussion of them, as well as of the Arbess material. We decided against doing this for it would have required more time than is available and we did not want the long delay in completing the monograph protracted even longer. Besides the changes referred to were in the direction forecast in the original draft of 1964 and Arbess' main findings substantiated those of our own study. Thus, although the monograph is presented in 1967, the events and situations to which it refers occurred no later than the summer of 1964.

I want to acknowledge the considerable help of several individuals and agencies. To mention first those based outside Povungnetuk, special thanks are due the following: the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre which sponsored the study and, in particular, its chief, A.J. Kerr, who has been impossibly patient in awaiting this report; Victor F. Valentine, former chief of that same agency and now a colleague at Carleton University; the Industrial Division of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and, in particular, its former chief, Don Snowden and its present one, Jon Evans; Therese Levallee and Raymond Audet, of the Quebec Cooperative Federation and the Caisse Populaire Desjardins, respectively. In Povungnetuk, the following (presented in alphabetical order) were especially helpful to me in my endeavour: Reverend Brian Burrows, Anglican Missionary; Mr. J.D. "Pat" Furneaux, Area Administrator, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

* Saul Arbess, Social Change and the Eskimo Cooperative at George River, Quebec, NRCR, 66-1, Ottawa, DIAND, 1966.

and his wife, Vola; Reverend Joseph Meeus, o.m.i., Zebedie Nungak; Bryan Robertson, Hudson's Bay Company manager; Eliasee Sadlualuk; the Siguarapik brothers, Charlie and Aisa, carvers extraordinary; Paulusi Sivuak; Reverend Andre Steinmann, o.m.i., the person around whom much of this story pivots; Tamasi Tulugak, manager of the Povungnetuk Cooperative Society.

Frank G. Vallee,
Carleton University,
May, 1967.

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INTRODUCTION

Since 1959 no less than sixteen cooperative societies have been incorporated in Canada's Arctic, twelve of them in the Northwest Territories and four in Northern Quebec - or, as it is now called - New Quebec. When we consider that there are only about 13,000 Eskimos in Canada, the establishment of so many cooperatives represents a social movement of outstanding significance, particularly for community organization in Arctic settlements. The purpose of this paper is to document the impact which one such cooperative society, and its companion credit union, has in the settlement of Povungnetuk¹ on the east side of Hudson Bay.

In order to carry out this task we also provide a description of forms of community organization other than the cooperative, as these are developing in Povungnetuk, our purpose being to trace the links between these different organizational units. We are fortunate in having as a historical baseline the account by Balikci of community organization in Povungnetuk as it existed in 1958.²

Field Work

The field work upon which this article is based was carried out from September 1962, until August 1963, during which period the author lived for about seven months in Povungnetuk. Besides, visits varying in length from two days to five weeks were made to the following settlements: Frobisher Bay, Cape Dorset, Fort Chimo, Great Whale River; flying visits

¹In oral reference Povungnetuk is most often called P.O.V. (Pee-oh-vee).

²Aasen Balikci, "Two Attempts at Community Organization Among Hudson Bay Eskimos", Anthropologica, N.S.I., 1. 1959.

lasting from two hours to one day were made to Port Harrison, Ivuyivik, and Sugluk. At Frobisher Bay, Cape Dorset and Fort Chimo the author had the opportunity to study cooperatives which had been established for two years or more; at Great Whale River, for about six months. Furthermore, we were fortunate in being invited to attend the first meeting of Arctic Cooperatives, sponsored by the Industrial Division of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, in March 1963. At this meeting we were in close touch with Eskimos and Kadmuna¹ representing sixteen Cooperative Societies in the Arctic. Thus, we have a firm comparative perspective within which to view the development and impact of the Povungnetuk Cooperative Society.

The Povungnetuk Settlement and the Region²

Although small campsites (see Map 1, page 3A) in and around the mouth of the Povungnetuk River, which empties into Hudson Bay, have been occupied on and off for centuries, the Povungnetuk settlement in its present form is quite new. The settlement, about 400 miles north of the tree line at Great Whale River, dates from 1952 when the Hudson's Bay Company moved its post (designated as Old P.O.V.) from the coast of Hudson Bay to its present spot about sixteen miles from the Bay, just beyond the line where the Povungnetuk River becomes saline. Into this settlement came people from various campsites on the east coast, from Port Harrison to north of Cape Smith at Kettlestone Bay. The Hudson's Bay Company Post at Cape Smith was abandoned in 1952, its population gradually drifting to Povungnetuk. Into the settlement at Povungnetuk, too, came Kadmuna from various

¹As in the author's other writings on Arctic communities, we use Kadmuna (Kabloona in the Central and Western Arctic) to denote people often designated by their fellowmen as white, Euro-Canadian, or by some other term.

²A number of ethnographic works on different communities in Arctic Quebec are listed in the references at the end of this report.

institutions in the south - nurses, administrators, teachers, missionaries - so that the population now numbers about 500 Eskimos and about 30 Kadhuna.

Until recently the chief source of income and sustenance for Eskimos in this part of the Hudson Bay region was from trapping and the hunting of sea mammals, with a secondary source from caribou hunting. Before 1935, the Hudson's Bay Company had a few private traders as competitors in parts of this region. The most substantial competitor, Révillon Frères, which was especially active in the vicinity of Povungnetuk Settlement, ceased operating in 1935.

In the late 'forties and early 'fifties, trapping and hunting declined as heavy relief payments and other government monies grew into an important source of income. It was in the mid-'fifties that income from the sale of soapstone carvings in the south became significant, rising from \$740.00 in 1952, to \$38,000.00 in 1956, then to over \$100,000.00 in 1962. Still, carving is not a specialized occupation in Povungnetuk: the local Eskimos have no word to describe the role of carver or sculptor.¹ The assumption is that any normal Eskimo person should be able to carve, although there are recognized differences in quality and quantity of product. At one extreme we find some fifteen persons who are recognized as top-notch carvers and who devote the equivalent of perhaps two hundred work days a year to carving, earning more than \$1500.00 annually thereby. In 1962 the highest income through soapstone carving went to a man who earned about \$2700.00 through it. At

¹This is not to say that the Eskimos lack a way of describing a person who occupies himself with carving much of the time, for they can do this by simply adding the appropriate suffix to the word for carving, which is sanaogak. It is interesting to note that the term sanaogak is sometimes generalized to denote any object made by an Eskimo as distinct from an object made by a non-Eskimo. What we mean here is that the connotation of role, implicit in the use of such English terms as carpenter, bricklayer, artist, etc., is absent in the Eskimo term for 'he-who-carves'.

the other extreme there are scores of teenagers and women, and about ten adult men, who turn out small pieces for sale now and then, earning less than \$50.00 a year from this source. Between these extremes we find the typical Povungnetuk adult male producing from fifty to one hundred carvings for between \$400.00 and \$1000.00 annually. A dozen adult women fall into this, the largest category of carvers.

Today the chief source of income and sustenance is from the sale of carvings and graphics; next in importance is income earned by wage-workers, employed full-time or part-time by the cooperative, Hudson Bay Store, or the government; this is followed by cash income from, and value to the consumer of, country food and furs taken through trapping, hunting, and fishing: finally, income from government transfer payments and relief, while sizeable, is the least important source of income. This is in contrast to the situation in many other Arctic locations where income from wages and sales is outweighed by income from government sources. (See Table 1 p. 23)

Until the early 'fifties the Eskimos in this region lived for much of the year in camps (nunaliit) located at the mouths of rivers. Traplines from these camps extended inland, in some cases for more than 100 miles across the barren lands. While the axis of trapping and caribou hunting - before the acute depletion of the herds in the 'thirties - was east and west, the axis of sea mammal hunting and of trade was north and south along the coast. Networks of kinship and friendship stretched along this latter axis, cutting across camp lines.

A typical camp had about thirty or so people in it. Each camp was known by the name of the headman, who was senior male in the core of kinsmen that dominated a camp. Such a group of relatives inhabiting a camp is called an illagit. However, the great majority of camps had also some people who were not related consanguineally - except, perhaps, in a remote unrecognized connection - to the head: these would be male and female affines who 'married in' as well as the odd unrelated person who became attached in some way to such a group.

Where such a residential group possessed a boat larger than a canoe or kayak, such as a whaleboat or peterhead, it was the headman who had most to say in the use of this resource for sea-mammal hunting or other purposes. The authority of the headman was also reinforced by the practice of Kadluna treating them as representatives, spokesmen, leaders. Missionaries sought them as catechists; traders were readier to advance credit to them than they were to non-headmen; officials dealt directly with and through them.

As we have noted, between 1952 and 1962, all of the campsites from just above Port Harrison to Kettlestone were abandoned as permanent residences. However, the move into the new settlement of Povungnetuk did not result in the immediate dissolution of the camp structure. Balikci has documented how the immigrants continued to be identified with their camps of origin and how the headmen of these camps played an important part in the early community organization of Povungnetuk.¹ Since his field work was completed, their role has gradually diminished in significance as the camp structure gives way to pan-community organizations which it is the purpose of this article to describe and analyze.

Initially, as people from a given camp moved into the new community, they would set up residence close to one another, the first to arrive being closest to the core of the settlement. Over the years some dispersal of residence occurred, with people choosing residential sites according to criteria other than camp membership, such as proximity to workplace or to friends rather than camp-mates, a visible sign of the start of a process of camp dissolution. This process is particularly evident among those from camps which were the first to settle in the community. The most recent camps to arrive, the ones which used to inhabit

1. Balikci, 1959, esp. p. 9ff.

the Cape Smith region, maintain the highest level of camp solidarity. They are currently located at the fringe settlement, and are called in everyday speech the 'Far Camps'. Although a few families from these camps have moved into houses close to the settlement core, most of them have remained for over six years on the edge of the community. Compared with people from most other camps, they do not participate heavily in community events, such as dances, movies, meetings. The one exception is in religious activities: the Cape Smith people are among the most ardent participants in Anglican Church Services, travelling two or three times the distance covered by most other Povungnetukers to and from the chapel.

Religion

Most of the Eskimos in what is now New Quebec were converted to Christianity by Anglican missionaries before the turn of the twentieth century. The last of the pre-Christian holdouts in the general Povungnetuk region was converted in the 'twenties'. Until very recently the Anglican Church in Canada had no resident missionaries in the settlements on the east coast of Hudson Bay. Touring missionaries performed services and gave spiritual guidance wherever travel conditions permitted, but the everyday ministering of religious affairs was left to Eskimo catechists, most of whom were camp leaders. These men were instructed in their own language, the Bible and other sacred literature having been translated into syllabics for such purposes.

Today there are three resident Anglican missionaries on the east side of Hudson Bay at Great Whale River, Port Harrison and Povungnetuk. Christianity in the eyes of the Eskimos is equated with the Anglican Church and has taken strong hold in the area. The Roman Catholics have no Eskimo adherents on the east coast of Hudson Bay outside Great Whale River, and even there they have very few. However, they do

maintain three missions: at Great Whale River, Povungnetuk and Ivuyivik. The Roman Catholics are identified in Eskimo eyes with the French and, in recent times, with the Quebec provincial government.

Despite the fact that the entire Eskimo population of Povungnetuk is affiliated with the Anglican Church, it was the Roman Catholics who first built a chapel and mission station there in 1956, an event which proved of momentous significance for the community as we shall see when we describe the Cooperative Society. In the eyes of the Eskimos, the Roman Catholic missionary's functions are almost all secular: at one time or another he has acted as dentist, interpreter, post office manager, telephone lineman, movie projectionist, school teacher, credit union and cooperative executive, salesman of carvings and prints. In some Eskimo eyes the priest is regarded not so much as a man of God as he is a man of a strange ethnic group who practices bizarre rituals in his chapel so many hours a day, while for the remaining hours he pervades every nook and cranny of community life on mundane pursuits. As if to emphasize the secular orientation of the Mission it provided Povungnetuk's first community centre, adjoining the chapel and called the Eskimo Room, where meetings, dances, movies and parties are held.

On his role in the community, a priest who served in Povungnetuk tells the following amusing and revealing tale. As we mentioned above, in the absence of an Anglican missionary the daily religious life of the Eskimos was guided and coordinated for each camp by an Eskimo catechist. Some of these catechists, especially the older ones, are held in a high esteem approaching reverence. On one occasion, the Roman Catholic priest was publicly berating one of these catechists for some shortcoming, such as failure to pay debts, when one of the younger Eskimos present, unable to contain himself longer, burst out, "How dare you talk that way to a man of God!" - or words to that effect - thereby implying that the catechist was more a man of God than was the priest.

With the help from the Anglican Church in Canada, local Eskimos built a chapel and later, in 1962, a mission house. The first permanent Anglican missionary to be appointed to Povungnetuk arrived there from England in the summer of 1962. With enthusiastic coaching from the Eskimos, he learned the language and developed orders and cycles of chapel services, bringing local practices more into line with those prevailing outside. More germane to the topic of this paper, the missionary and his wife introduced the vestry and auxiliary organization, common among Anglican parishes everywhere. Brief accounts of the vestry at Povungnetuk are given later in this report. The Women's Auxiliary was launched after the author left the community. Because none of our information on it is first-hand we do not feel justified in describing it here.

The Quebec Takeover

We conclude this background sketch with some remarks on the political situation in New Quebec because of its considerable implications for community organization in Povungnetuk. One of the events with the most far-reaching implications for Arctic communities in the region is the decision of the provincial government in 1962 to take over from the federal government those responsibilities which the latter had exercised on behalf of the province since 1912, when what was then called the Ungava District of the Northwest Territories was joined to Quebec. In 1939, the federal government's responsibility for Eskimo affairs in this district was re-affirmed. The intention now is for the provincial government to take over such responsibilities from the federal.

The handling of the Quebec Takeover, as it is popularly called, can be understood only if we keep in mind the French-Canadian nationalist resurgence and the concomitant

demand for more provincial autonomy in Quebec which reached a pitch in the early 1960's and has been sustained until the present. In this situation of tension between the federal and provincial governments, with its undertones of ethnic conflict, even simple administrative and technical changes assume the character of political drama.

As far as Quebec's taking over the administration of Eskimo affairs is concerned, the position of the federal government is to welcome this development publicly, but to retain administrative responsibility until the province can guarantee that its plans, staff and means are adequate to maintain the present level of Eskimo development and welfare and to ensure that the future prospects of the Eskimos are bright. The most recent statements of the Minister of Northern Affairs of the federal government indicate (as of July, 1964) the desire to consult Eskimos on matters pertaining to the shift in responsibility before handing it to the province. The official stand of the provincial government is against any such consultation, especially if it entails a poll, plebiscite, or referendum.

The public position of the provincial government was initially that of the claimant of a heritage which had been withheld for an unreasonable time. A few strident nationalists, some of them in the employ of the provincial government, went further and publicly declared their suspicion that les anglophones oriented to Ottawa were determined to prevent the Quebec Takeover and to turn the Eskimos against French Canadians.¹

1. For a rather extreme statement of this position, see Michel Brochu, Le Défi du Nouveau Quebec, Montreal, Les Editions du Jour, 1962. Brochu was until 1963 an employee of the Department des Richesses Naturelles, the provincial department directly responsible for the administration of Eskimo affairs in the projected provincial set-up.

There certainly is evidence that in some communities in New Quebec strong anti-French and anti-Catholic feelings exist among the Eskimos. According to the author's observations and to press reports¹ such feeling is particularly strong in Fort Chimo and Great Whale River, two of the larger communities where both federal and provincial officials, awaiting the vaguely defined day of Takeover, live in separate blocs, thus accenting in Eskimo eyes the differences between the familiar establishment and the unknown new dispensation.

It is not the purpose of the author to evaluate the pros and cons of the issues involved in the Quebec Takeover. The matter is raised here to show how events in the wider world impinge on communities in New Quebec, and on Povungnetuk in particular. To understand how this community is affected, two factors differentiating Povungnetuk from Great Whale River and Fort Chimo should be noted.

First, the provincial government is not represented in Povungnetuk by a bloc of permanent residents, but rather by a single individual whose role is defined as a general helper to whatever agency -- federal, religious, commercial -- is trying to help the Eskimos. This person is at the same time learning the intricacies of community administration from the federal representative there, as well as from others. Rather than standing out in Eskimo eyes as the first wave of a new dispensation which will probably direct new generations into a French way of life, this person is perceived as a special source of help, another one of a number of Kadluna who work closely with the Eskimos. Other French Canadians from the

1. Typical of press reports on the situation appearing in English language publications is the article, "Why Eskimos Distrust New Quebec's 'Big Brothers'," by Walter Stewart, in the Star Weekly Magazine, 18 July, 1964. The most judicious treatment of the topic in the press, in our opinion, is that of George Mortimore. "Cold War in New Quebec", Globe Magazine, Toronto, Globe and Mail, April 24, 1965, page 6.

provincial government and certain agencies to be mentioned later visit the community for short stays, but their visits are tied in with on-going programs of community development in which they give concrete and visible help.

Second, the provincial government has decided to make special efforts to create a kind of model community in Povungnetuk, primarily through the agency of its Cooperative Society. It is hoped that conspicuous success in this community will allay suspicion in others and muster support and loyalty for the province on the part of Eskimos everywhere in New Quebec. Thus the people of Povungnetuk have been provided with measures of support from the province as well as from other sources. They are in the strong position of those who are courted by more than one suitor. As far as we could determine, the prevalent view among Povungnetuk Eskimos is that the present situation is ideal: they do not want any one outside agency - provincial, federal, commercial - to dominate the community.

Chapter I

NEW GROUPINGS IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Since the completion of Balikci's study in 1958, five units of community organization, at that time either non-existent or incipient, have emerged and developed in Povungnetuk: the Community Council, the Anglican Vestry, the Anglican Ladies' Auxiliary, the Cooperative Society, and the Credit Union, a branch of the Caisse Populaire. The latter two, the discussion of which is the chief purpose of this paper, will be treated here as one unit, for they are perceived by the people as part of the one cooperative complex and are sociologically sub-parts of one enterprise. When we examine these new units in the context of units which already existed in 1958 - kinship and camp groupings, hospital, school, Hudson's Bay Company - we are struck by the complexity of formal organization in such a small community.

The Community Council

Povungnetuk does not have municipal status, nor is it even a local improvement district. Strictly speaking, then, there is no local government, no body of representatives of residents, appointed or elected, whose decisions are legally binding on people by virtue of their status as citizens of the settlement. Rights to make decisions of this kind are vested in the federal government and, to an increasing extent, in the provincial government. The federal government has exclusive rights to make decisions in the fields of education and health; local relief is granted by the Northern Service Officer, representing the federal government; the surveying of the community and the concomitant laying out of land lots are a joint federal-provincial venture; recently, road building and public housing programs were jointly launched by the two governments concerned.

Despite the lack of formal local representative government, some functions of community decision making are carried out by local representatives through the Community Council established in 1960 at the suggestion of the federal government officer. In this he was carrying forward a government practice attempted in several arctic communities.¹

The purposes of the Community Council are threefold: to encourage Eskimo participation in community affairs; to provide Eskimos with opportunity to take part in meetings using parliamentary procedure; to provide an agency for discussion about, and action on, community crises.

The Council has a very simple structure. Any adult in the community has a voice at the meetings and the only office which is differentiated out from the mass is that of the elected chairman. In practice, however, the Kadluna and certain influential Eskimos, some of them the heads of camps, monopolize discussion, the great majority of others acting as spectators. Voting for the Council is quite heavy. For instance, at the election of 1962, 193 people cast their votes for the twenty seven candidates who had been nominated. Only five of these received more than 10 votes: the winner had 73, the runner-up 29.

The elected chairman was what we have described elsewhere as a Kabloonamio², a person with extensive experience in matters having to do with trading, the operation of stores, and committee work in general. He is thought of by the Eskimos as a person who knows how to cope with matters involving the Kadluna, has travelled widely in the Central Arctic, and has acted as an Eskimo spokesman in the south. Having worked for many years with the Hudson's Bay Company, in whose store he was the highest paid Eskimo employee, he came to understand English,

1. Cf., e.g., Balikci, 1959; Frank G. Vallee, Kabloona and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin, NCRC, Ottawa, 1962, esp. chapters VI, IX.

2. Cf., Vallee, 1962, pp. 134ff.

although he never speaks it. He is not a camp leader, and in fact represents a departure from the traditional kind of leader. He plays a leading role in the Anglican church in Povungnetuk, although he is not a catechist.

We present such detail about this man because his experiences illustrate a number of points about the changing situation among Eskimos in the Arctic: new criteria of leadership and new demands for commitment of energy and loyalty to groupings which have no precedents in the Eskimo past. Already people are harassed by problems of conflicting membership. For instance, the chairman of the Council felt initially that he could not support the Cooperative because it had been closely identified with a Roman Catholic priest and because of his position as top Eskimo in the Hudson's Bay Company store, competitor of the Cooperative, especially in its retail functions. So for a few years he was a non-committal, silent witness to the development of the Cooperative, attending some of its meetings. A further source of awkwardness for him was the tendency for the Cooperative executive and membership to arrogate to itself some of the functions of the Community Council, a tendency to be discussed later. In the winter of 1963, some of the tensions aroused by such cross-memberships were relaxed when the chairman of the Community Council gave up his job at the Hudson's Bay Company and became assistant manager of the new Cooperative store.

Meetings of the Community Council are called by the chairman, occasionally on his own initiative, but usually upon the suggestion of one of the Kadluna, like the Northern Service Officer. Meetings are very informal. At times no one sits on chairs or benches, the people preferring to sprawl on the floor or perch on the edge of tables. It is significant that many of these meetings take place in one of the Cooperative Buildings and are dominated eventually - as far as Eskimo participation

is concerned - by people who are strong in the Cooperative movement. Indeed, it is common for these meetings to develop into discussions about Cooperative strategies and needs, no matter what priorities are on the agenda.

This is not to say that the Community Council is a pointless, functionless unit. It has been decided at Council meetings to carry out community projects, such as spring cleanup, for which each householder was taxed five dollars; to decline an offer from a helping agency in the south to build a community hall if the local people would put up so many thousands of dollars; to make rules about loose dogs during rabies epidemics; to choose between candidates for public housing. Typically, however, these decisions represent the views of Kadluna, the logic, justice and good sense of which are argued at the meetings. In the decision-making processes at such meetings, the Kadluna play the informal parts for which they seem to be cast in the Arctic: suggesting, innovating, persuading, seeking consent and support. Decisions, once they are reached, are then described by Kadluna as Eskimo Council decisions.

Council meetings are also occasions for the airing of grievances and the making of special pleas. For instance, the Northern Service Officer might use such a meeting to remind householders that they have been remiss in payments on houses purchased through the government; such a reminder might invite a rejoinder from some Eskimos that the insulation is bad, roofs leak, or some other complaints about these houses.

Because power to make binding decisions on a wide range of local government matters is not vested in the Council, and because its functions do not directly touch the economic or religious spheres - both of much significance to the Eskimos - its continued existence is problematic. Were the Kadluna sponsors or Eskimo chairman to lose interest, the council would be likely to simply dissolve, its functions taken over by people in other offices, such as the administrator, or bodies such as the Cooperative or by the Anglican vestry, which is the next topic of discussion.

The Anglican Vestry

Because the Anglican Vestry was first formed in the spring of 1963 and had been operating for only a few months when the author completed field work, we do not have much to report in connection with it. But what we do have is worth reporting because of its implications for the Cooperative Society and for community organization. The object in forming the vestry was to approximate the parish structure found outside the mission field and, in the words of the minister, "to make the people conscious that this is their church and not some strange import that belongs to people outside."

There are fourteen members of the vestry, two of whom are wardens. The Eskimos decided themselves that six of the fourteen should be women, a suggestion which took the minister by surprise. From among the eight men elected by the congregation, one was chosen by the vestry as People's Warden, representing the congregation vis-a-vis the minister; the minister selected another from the eight as Minister's Warden. In order to be eligible for office, a person must be a regular member and at least twenty-one years of age. A regular member is one who has been confirmed and who takes communion regularly. It is significant that people from the Cape Smith camps are well-represented on the vestry, holding about 30% of the offices. The reason this is regarded as significant is the comparative lack of Cape Smith representation and participation in the Community Council and in the executive of the Cooperative Society. Only three of the fourteen officers of the Church are enthusiastic Cooperative Society members. Just as many favour the Hudson's Bay Company over the Cooperative. Thus to some extent the factions in the community are reflected in its emerging formal organization, a matter which we discuss later under the heading of the Cooperative Society.

The tasks of the vestry are to see to the maintenance of chapel and other installations connected with the Church; to arrange as much as possible for the financing of these installations and, eventually, of the cost of maintaining the minister; to help the minister in his work, for instance by reporting to him those people who are ill so that he can visit them. Although, strictly speaking, they are not supposed to make decisions about purely spiritual and liturgical matters, such matters are indeed discussed at vestry meetings. For example, at one of the meetings an Eskimo member criticized the minister and his catechists for conducting dull services and asked, "when are you going to make the services more interesting?"

In practice, the vestry is assuming functions which transcend these strictly parochial ones, functions with implications for the secular life of the community as a whole. This is to be expected, for all Eskimos in the community are at least nominal members of the Anglican Church in Canada. Because of the all-inclusiveness of its membership the Church, through its representatives, can claim the right to define what is good and not good for the community and thus is in potential conflict with the one other agency, the Cooperative, which claims that right.

During early meetings of the vestry, conflicts on claims over the energies and loyalties of members appeared sporadically on the surface. For instance, on one occasion the issue was to decide on what date to hold the next meeting. A member objected to a suggested date because it was planned to show a movie, sponsored by the Cooperative, on that night. Another date was suggested and prompted the object from one member that there was a Cooperative Society meeting scheduled for that night. In apparent exasperation, one of the most influential members of the vestry, himself a supporter of the

Cooperative, is reported by a Kadluna observer to have said: "We'll hold the meeting at that time. Whenever the Cooperative wants a meeting they just snap their fingers and the church has to take second place. Not this time!"

Not only time of meetings, but also sites for them are issues that sometimes reveal underlying differences in understanding about which community agency is the most inclusive and representative. In the past most meetings to discuss community problems have been held in a room at the Roman Catholic Mission or in one of the Cooperative buildings adjacent to that Mission. On some occasions meetings called by, or for the benefit of, outside officials and dignitaries have been held in the school. Now with the strengthening of the secular structure of the Anglican congregation, there has grown a demand for the erection of a community hall to be identified with the Anglican Church and to be adjacent to the chapel. In the meantime, one influential person in the vestry has called meetings to discuss community matters in the chapel itself. These were not vestry meetings, but meetings of the Community Council or just simply of persons who were concerned about some problems, for instance, the spread of rabies among the dogs. Such issues as the time and place of meetings are trivial in themselves, but as we suggested above, revealed in the discussion of them and in decisions made about them is the interplay of underlying currents of feeling about which agency in the community has prior claims on the loyalties and energies of the inhabitants. The only social unit in a position to contest the claims of the Cooperative Society at this time is the Anglican congregation through its vestry. It should be pointed out that the minister of the congregation is very much circumspect and neutral on such issues, seeking to avoid outright identification with any faction in the community.

Lest this account give the impression of a straight-forward contest between two rivals, the Anglican congregation and the Cooperative, let us hasten to correct the perspective by pointing out that most issues confronting the two social groupings are mutually irrelevant. Points of contact in the orbits of interest are few and do not often give rise to tension and conflict. The links between the two social structures will be further clarified as we proceed with the chief purpose of this paper, the impact of the Cooperative Society and its companion Credit Union on the community.

Chapter II

The P.O.V. Cooperative: An Historical Sketch

In reports of this kind it is customary to observe the rule of anonymity where individuals are concerned, referring to them only in their capacities as office-holders, role performers, and the like. However, in some instances a single individual is so well known to persons most likely to read a report that it seems excessively formal, even ritualistic, to pretend to conceal his identity behind the titles of his status or roles. Such would be the case, for instance, were the development of Eskimo art in Cape Dorset and of that community's Cooperative to be described in such a way that artist James Houston and Mrs. Houston, the prime movers there, appear simply as the Northern Service Officer and his wife. Because the Povungnetuk development, like the Dorset one, is so much the result of one man's exertions and because that man is so well known to observers of the Arctic scene, it would be pretentious to apply the rule of anonymity and refer constantly to the Roman Catholic Missionary instead of to Father Andre Steinmann.

At the time of Balikci's field work in 1958, the Povungnetuk Cooperative Society had only recently been created by Father Steinmann out of an association of carvers. The norms of pooling efforts implied in the carver's association were combined with those of pooling resources at the camp level implied in the camp accounts system, established by the Hudson's Bay Company trader¹, to provide a normative basis for the new cooperative.

Initially the chief concern of the Cooperative was to find markets for carvings which up to that point had been channeled through the Hudson's Bay Company and the Department of Northern

1. cf. Balikci, 1959, for a description of the camp accounts system. Peter Murdoch, the trader who created the Povungnetuk system, later joined the staff of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, one of a number of veteran Arctic hands, schooled by the Company, to transfer from it to other Arctic agencies.

Affairs. With the help of the latter department and of private sponsors in the U.S.A. and Canada, Father Steinmann toured cities in the south, accompanied by two of the leading carvers. These exhibition tours have been undertaken at least once a year since 1958 and have helped spread abroad the considerable reputation of Povungnetukers as producers of fine carvings and, during the past few years, of graphics.

In the five years since its inception, the Povungnetuk Cooperative Society has expanded greatly in scope and diversity. The purchase and marketing of carvings continues to be its chief operation in terms of financial return to the community, but of rapidly increasing significance are its other operations. Furs are purchased and sent to auctions in the south. The Society has a print shop where the drawings of its artists are translated via stone cuts into prints and sold in southern art centres. It has a sewing centre where garments are produced for both local and outside sale. Fish and game are purchased from hunters and fishermen for local consumption. A Cooperative Tourist program has been launched. The tourists are lodged in stone houses, built locally, and Eskimos are employed for guiding and domestic services. The Society has plunged into all-out competition with the Hudson's Bay Company by opening a retail store. The local Credit Union, a branch of the Caisse Populaire Desjardins, has become the community bank, the saving and lending functions of which are closely tied in with the Cooperative Society. Its office is in the Cooperative store.

The Society has twelve full-time Eskimo employees and numerous part-time ones. Its store, print shop, sewing shop, and the bank each has an Eskimo manager. For a brief period of less than a year, a Kadluna manager was employed, but this arrangement was abandoned in the spring of 1962. Although he is not officially general manager and acts technically in an honorary, unpaid capacity, Father Steinmann has always played a decisive part in every facet of Cooperative and Credit Union life. Other Kadluna, some unpaid and others paid by one outside agency or another, have a hand in managing the various operations.

The posture of these Kadluna is more avuncular than paternalistic. They offer guidance in such technical aspects of the operations for which there are no traditional Eskimo precedents, such as accounting, pricing, correspondence with outside dealers. Major policy decisions about production and consumption and credit are formally made by the various boards and committee corresponding to the various functions of the operation, as we shall see presently. These bodies are at least 90% Eskimo in membership, but such major decisions almost always follow the ideas of the Kadluna members and advisors, both within and without the community. The accepted rule, understood by Kadluna and Eskimo alike, is that Kadluna have more say in Cooperative and Credit Union matters whose significance transcends the local community or is of long-term significance, for instance, marketing and borrowing strategies. It is explicitly recognized that the Kadluna are the initiators of new ways of doing things in the local economy and that they are grooming the Eskimos to take over an ever-growing part in the decision-making and operation connected with the enterprise. In fact, the bulk of the day to day operation of this producing and consuming apparatus is already under Eskimo control.

Certain facilities, such as large sea-mammal nets, peterhead boats, space for country food in the Northern Affairs Freezer, are rented by the Society, but most of its plant and other resources are owned by the Society. Only one other institution in the community, the Department of Northern Affairs, has as many buildings as the Cooperative. Some of these were formerly owned by the Oblate Order and all are adjacent to the Roman Catholic Mission, reinforcing the impression - frequently and forcefully denied by Father Steinmann and the Cooperative leaders - that there is a connection between the Society and the Roman Catholic Church.

The Cooperative has become by far the most significant economic institution in the community. According to the author's estimates of income from all sources, a resume of which is

presented in Table 1, more than half of the income from all sources (sales and wages to H.B.C., government agencies, statutory allowances, relief, etc.) was earned through the Cooperative Society. These estimates were arrived at after careful checking with government officials, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Cooperative.¹ Our estimate of the total income for the Eskimos at Povungnetuk in 1962 was \$221,700 of which earnings through the Cooperative comprised almost \$112,000. A breakdown of the sum earned through the Cooperative appears in Table 11. Figures in these tables are rounded to avoid misleading the reader on the precision of the estimates.

TABLE I
Sources of Income, Eskimos of Povungnetuk,
1 January to 31 December, 1962

Sales and Wages, P.O.V. Coop. Society (excl. dividends)	\$ 111,900.00
Sales and Wages, H.B.C. and other non-governmental sources (e.g. domestics)	33,400.00
Wages from government sources (janitorial, construction, stevedoring, etc.)	43,900.00
Statutory payments (Family allowance, pensions, etc.)	25,700.00
Welfare assistance	6,800.00
Total Income	\$ 221,700.00

Source: Author's estimate.

1. Note that we take into account only cash incomes. We do not take into account the cash value of country food and skins which are not sold or traded but consumed directly by the population. The cash value of such country produce has probably declined slightly since pre-Cooperative days, but not significantly.

TABLE II
Earned Income of Povungnetuk Eskimos Through
Sales To and Wages From Cooperative,
1 January to December 31, 1962.

SALES

Carvings.....	\$ 77,100.00
Furs.....	3,350.00
Fish-meat (Country food).....	2,200.00
Soapstone.....	4,100.00
Merchandise (Dolls, hats, etc.).....	2,650.00
Estimated total sales.....	\$ 89,400.00

WAGES

Prints.....	11,500.00
Sewing.....	2,400.00
Other (packing, construction, etc.).....	8,600.00
Estimated total wages.....	\$ 22,500.00

Estimated Grand Total Earned Through
Cooperative (excl. dividends) 1962.... \$111,900.00

Source: Author's Estimates based on thorough examination
of the accounts of the Society.

We hesitate to make even crude estimates for 1963 having left the community in the Fall of that year, but the indications are that earnings through the Cooperative from their new retail store as well as from wages, country food, tourism, prints and sewing, have risen sharply and that earnings from other sources listed in Table 1 have risen slightly to consolidate the Cooperative position as the most significant economic institution in the community.

This listing of the achievements and resources of the Cooperative Society might give the impression of a steady upward curve of progress, uninterrupted by serious sags, but there have been times during the past few years when observers have predicted the imminent collapse of the enterprise. A narrative history of the Cooperative would be cast in cyclical form in what appears

to be a seasonal pattern.¹ The existence of the group was acutely threatened on several occasions since 1958, the most precarious periods occurring in the late winter and spring of the year. Each of these occasions has been marked by a waning of member enthusiasm, overt or covert steps to curtail the power of Father Steinmann. On each occasion, the strength of the Society has been restored after some dramatic event in which the alleged source of difficulty has been discovered, exposed and publicly exorcised.

For instance, in March 1962, the Kadmuna manager who had been hired in the previous year and whose chief function was to keep the Society's products flowing into markets in the south, was dismissed at a public meeting, featured by charges and counter-charges, interventions by non-members and threats to bring legal action. A year later, in the spring of 1963, what was felt to be waning support for, and strength of, the Society was diagnosed as symptomatic of the failure of the Eskimo directors and Father Steinmann to put the group's interests before their own. A petition was circulated among the Eskimos to have Father Steinmann removed from the community, and apparently his superiors complied by inviting him south and replacing him with another missionary. Three months later, with the Cooperative in trouble, another petition was circulated and sent to the south asking that Father Steinmann be returned to the community. Many of the people who signed the first also signed the second petition.

After his return, the directors consented to take part in a session of mutual accusation. All participants in this cathartic episode acknowledged guilt and promised to mend their ways. For example, the Eskimo president agreed that he did not show sufficient interest in the Cooperative; did little to spread the word among the unconverted Eskimos and promised to redouble his efforts; Father Steinmann agreed that he was too brusque with the Eskimos, and that he did not listen enough to their explanations

1. The significance of the seasonal cycle in the Arctic for social and psychological states deserves systematic investigation. Evidence at hand indicates that physical and mental breakdowns and inter-group hostility are more likely to occur during late winter and early spring than during other seasons.

for what he regarded as bad conduct; the Eskimo manager of the print shop admitted that he was frequently late to work; another Eskimo member of the executive committee accepted the advice of his colleague to say in public those things he was wont to say in private; and so forth.

As suggested, such meetings mark the advent of a renewal, a waxing of spirit, and an expansion of the Society's activities. Each such step in expansion and diversification adds muscle to the Society and polarizes further the gulf between outright supporters and non-supporters. In the summer of 1962, a re-organization followed the dismissal of the Kadluna manager and it was during this reorganization that agencies from Quebec began to contribute direct support to the Society. Representatives of the Quebec Federation of Cooperatives and of the Caisse Populaire Desjardins came to the community to offer help with the full support of the provincial government which, as we noted in the introduction, decided to concentrate special attention on Povungnetuk. The representative of the Co-operative Federation undertook the function of marketing Povungnetuk products in the south, and the Caisse Populaire representative organized the bookkeeping for the Society and helped in the launching of the Credit Union. The 1963 renewal was marked by the launching of a consumer branch in the form of a general store, the survival of which is guaranteed by the provincial government.

A few remarks are in order concerning the provision of outside help for the Povungnetuk Cooperative Society. All cooperatives in the Arctic were created by some Kadluna individual or agency. Three out of every four Arctic cooperatives were moulded by the Industrial Division of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, whose field officers and headquarters personnel provide a wide range of technical and material assistance. The Department also provides finance

through its Eskimo Loan Fund. Although the Povungnetuk Society has not been a fullfledged project of the Department of Northern Affairs, assistance from this source has been given from time to time. For instance the federal Department relieved the Society of a large and embarrassing inventory of its carving on one occasion when these were not moving through the markets; through the Department was paid the salary of a Kadluna artist who was hired to help the Eskimos master the techniques of producing prints; thirty thousand dollars was procured by the Society through the Eskimo Loan Fund to see it over a financial crisis; the local administrator for the federal government has for years assisted the Society in many different ways.

Despite these examples of support, and others could be cited, the impression is abroad that the Povungnetuk Society maintains a sturdy independence of the federal government and is unique among Arctic Cooperatives in that it grew out of the comparatively unaided efforts of the local people while the others are simply bureaucratic inventions and not true cooperatives. Leaving aside the matter of its validity, we can see how useful such a belief is in encouraging the local people to feel proud of their unique accomplishment. A sense of competitive rivalry has been engendered, so that appeals can be made to Povungnetukers to show others how a genuine cooperative ought to operate. The Povungnetuk Cooperative story is sometimes contrasted with that of Cape Dorset, to the latter's disfavour, it being viewed as a heavily subsidized creature of the federal government whereas the P.O.V. people have had to make most of their own breaks. The comparatively massive and systematic aid now being provided by the provincial government makes it difficult to maintain the illusion that the locals are pulling themselves up by their own bootstraps.

Chapter III

The Cooperative as a Social System

With this general background in mind, let us examine the Cooperative Society in more detail. In everyday speech the Eskimos often use the English short form 'coop' (pronounced Koap) for cooperative. However, they also use the Eskimo gatutaiyut, which connotes 'people who come together to do something'.¹ The Eskimo form is often used when speakers seek to emphasize the need for all community members to support the Cooperative, to work together on their own behalf. Everyone in the community, even older school-children, ought to be a member and supporter of the Cooperative, according to its strongest adherents. In this view, the Cooperative is not simply an economic institution: it is the chief unit of community organization, all inclusive, comprehensive, multi-functional. As it grows in economic strength, the Cooperative leaders gradually assume for themselves the right to define what is and what is not good for the community as a whole, the right to publicly criticize those who do not wholeheartedly support the enterprise.

This equation of the total community with membership in the cooperative is evident at meetings, many of which develop into sessions in which lectures, debates, and general discussion deal with matters which are only indirectly, if at all, connected with the terms of reference of the cooperative itself: questions about human relations in the community; about keeping dogs tied; about controlling deviance; about making payments on houses purchased from the federal government. In these meetings can be seen the tendency for the Cooperative to provide an integrative

1. The Credit Union (Caisse Populaire) is sometimes referred to as krikatitsivia, 'the place where the money is stopped'.

and coordinative machinery for the whole community, a machinery transcending the traditional familial and camp groupings and one which usurps some of the purposes of such bodies as community councils which, as we have seen, were originally set up under the auspices of government administrators as a first step towards local government.

Furthermore the Eskimo Cooperative leaders in Povungnetuk have assumed the responsibility for spreading the movement into other communities in New Quebec, in a quest for total Eskimo conversion to the movement.

While this report was being written in 1964, a program was being introduced to have a kind of in-training scheme in cooperative operation and management in Povungnetuk for the benefit of Eskimos in other communities in Arctic Quebec. The chief supporter of their program is the provincial government. The visitors spend from several weeks to months working in the Povungnetuk Cooperative and Caisse Populaire before returning to their communities and, it is hoped by the sponsors, put into practice what they have learned.

Since the spring of 1963 several visits have been made by Eskimo leaders of the Povungnetuk Society to Great Whale River, Port Harrison, Ivuyivik, Sugluk and Wakeham Bay. Costs for these visits were borne by the provincial government. In most of these places the Povungnetukers were greeted initially with some suspicion, for their visits were linked in many minds with the Quebec Takeover and the Catholic Church, but that suspicion appears to have abated somewhat for very recently Povungnetuk cooperators have been asked to return to two of these communities and help the people there begin local cooperatives. This outside demand for their help, combined with the fame a favourable press circulates for them in the south¹, does much to enhance the prestige of its leading members in the community.

1. See, e.g., George Mortimore, "Controlled Social Change Brings Relief Issues Down in Povungnetuk", Globe and Mail, April 29, 1965.

Such outside evidence of worth encourages the deeper involvement of local people who have been indifferent to the organization in the past and adds a new device to the arsenal of the proselytisers. Other devices used to garner and hold support for the Cooperative are in the form of appeals in terms of economic gain and cultural goals. Before discussing the uses of these devices, a few remarks are needed about involvement in the society.

First, it should be noted that membership was originally a simple matter of dealing one or more times with the Cooperative, by bringing one's handicrafts, such as dolls or garments, carvings, and furs to the Cooperative rather than to the Hudson's Bay Company for sale. Every person who sold to the Cooperative was given a number and a separate page or pages in a ledger. That person's sales would be entered in the ledger and periodically summed to show the amount of business done through the Cooperative. Dividends from profits are determined by the amount of business done through the Cooperative. Technically every 'member' has a vote equal to every other, no matter what the amount of business done. After three years of operation, some few people had only two or three entries; most people had from forty to fifty; a few had more than two hundred each. The latter were recognized as good members; the majority as simple members; and the first category as not really members, even though each had a number in the ledger.

When the author left the community, the executive had just announced the intention to tighten up the membership requirements so that one may distinguish more clearly than was formerly the case between members and non-members. The vagueness about membership status has its source in the view of the Cooperative leaders, to which we have referred earlier, that every able-bodied person in the community should be a Cooperative supporter. They have been reluctant in the past to draw too strict a line between members and non-members for fear of alienating the latter and making them feel that the Society was not really a

community-wide institution. Now that they are in a strong position, with the majority of people openly supportive, the leaders can afford to stigmatize non-supporters.

In any case, for the majority of people in the community, involvement in the Cooperative Society is measured primarily in terms of the amount of business they do with it. Now that the Society has a full-fledged consumer branch in its store, another dimension of support distinguishing between members and non-members has been added. In the past even staunch Cooperative supporters had to do much of their shopping at the Hudson's Bay Company store. Now heavy patronage of the Company can be viewed as a conspicuous dissociation from the Cooperative, a withholding of both economic and social support.

Social support is manifested not only by one's presence at the store or workshops, but also by attendance at the frequent Society meetings. Of course the public expression of favourable comment is also taken as a sign of support. A manifestation of ardent commitment is also the wearing of a badge with the insignia of the Cooperative on it. The ones likeliest to wear insignia are the employees and the committee members.

A rough idea of the distribution of people according to their involvement in the Cooperative is given in Table III. This Table is based on a very crude calculation of the extent to which people trade with the Cooperative rather than with its competitor, the Hudson's Bay Company (where there is a realistic choice in trading, of course), attendance at Cooperative meetings, and conspicuous supportive or alienative behaviour. The sample consists of 216 individuals above the age of sixteen about whom we were able to get information. Kadluna are excluded from the sample. Except for the information concerning amount of business done with the Cooperative and attendance at meetings, the data on intensity of involvement or alienation is very much subjective. With these limitations in mind, let us examine the Table.

Table III

Intensity of Involvement in Cooperative Society, Povungnetuk,

June 1963

	<u>Number of Individuals</u>	<u>Percent of Sample</u>
Very Intense	18	8%
Above Average Intensity	69	32%
Average Intensity (trade with Company as well as Coop, occasional attendance meetings)	72	33%
Below Average Intensity	46	21%
Least Intense (Openly hostile and conspicuously Company oriented)	<u>12</u>	<u>6%</u>
	217	100%

We find that, in the author's judgement, more people are above average in support than are below average, but that a large number, about 72, are 'fence-sitters' or waverers. These are people without special feeling of loyalty to the Cooperative, but with a vague friendliness towards the idea of it.

We noted earlier that participation in the different streams of community life varied to some extent according to affiliation with camps. While there is no camp with zero involvement in the Cooperative, some are much more supportive than others. The least supportive camps, the ones that do least business with the organization, show the least interest in attending meetings, have the fewest members on active committees and working as Cooperative employees, are the Cape Smith camps, while the most supportive in these respects are those formerly resident near the Old Post and the present settlement, those which we call for the sake of brevity the 'Old P.O.V.' camps. Table IV gives an idea of the range of differential involvement by groups of camps. In

this table we compare households in the two Cape Smith camps with those in the two most supportive 'Old P.O.V.' camps, using only one index, the amount of business done with the Cooperative in 1962 through the sale of carvings, prints, handicrafts, furs, and country foods to the Cooperative. Note that these amounts do not represent total earnings through such sales for households, because people also sell such articles at the Hudson's Bay Company. We cannot present precise figures for such sales to the Company, but we do have conclusive evidence that Cape Smith households trade with the Company at a rate from 30% to 50% higher in volume than the rate for the 'Old P.O.V.' households. The remaining households from all camps fall between the high of the 'Old P.O.V.' camps and the low of the Cape Smith ones. It should be pointed out that there are two 'Old P.O.V.' camps, four of whose household heads are closely associated with the Hudson's Bay Company as full-time employees and who have a low volume of trade with the Cooperative. This does not mean that they are anti-Cooperative in sentiment, for people from these households often attend meetings of the Cooperative and speak favourably about it, but they do not support it economically.

Table IV

Average Earnings Through Sales to Cooperative by Household
According to Household's Camp Affiliation, 1962

Average Earnings, all households	\$ 870.00
Average Earnings (12), "Old P.O.V." Camps	1260.00
Average Earnings (16), Cape Smith Camps	785.00

Camps in the community are not solidary, uniform blocks of like-thinkers and like-doers. Still the influence of the camp leader is clear to the observer. If he is an enthusiastic supporter of the Cooperative, it is most likely that others in his camp will show positive support. However, if a camp leader is hostile or indifferent one may nevertheless encounter people in his

camp who are mildly supportive or, more typically, whose support is most unstable, soaring and dipping with circumstances. Some of the determinants of differential involvement are discussed in a later section.

As camp affiliation has a kinship referent, we expect that kinship ties coincide closely with intensity of involvement in the Cooperative. However, family ties appear to be crucial only at the extreme of alienation on the one hand and intense involvement on the other. Thus the fathers of three families from camps formerly settled around the Povungnetuk River area are very much supportive and we find that all members of their families are also strongly supportive. Five of the adults who are most hostile to the Cooperative are from two extended families within the Cape Smith camps and two of the most hostile are young adult women in these families. For most of the population, however, information about a person's kinship ties does not provide a sensitive predictor of intensity of involvement in the Cooperative.

So far we have been looking at involvement with the general population in mind. If we narrow our focus and look at two categories of this total group, the employees and the committee members, we are struck again by the discrepancy in involvement between the Cape Smith folk and the others. Employees are hired by the executive committee in consultation with Father Steinmann. Criteria of recruitment may be ranked as follows: relevant skill or potential skill for the job; availability for full-time work; esteem in the eyes of the community; favourable attitude towards the Cooperative. A person who scores heavily on any one or more of these criteria can have a very low score on any other discounted. For instance, a person with considerable experience - for an Eskimo - in the workings of a retail store who is highly esteemed could win ready acceptance as an employee despite the fact that he has expressed anti-cooperative sentiments in the past or has been visibly indifferent to the movement, provided he makes himself available for the job, of course. In the context of the Povungnetuk situation, however, making oneself available for a full-time job with the Cooperative presupposes a willingness to adopt the

philosophy of the movement and to be loyal to it. Only two of the Cape Smith people have held full-time jobs with the Cooperative. One of these, who is actually with the Credit Union and who became a member of the local managerial elite, is quite dissociated from the households in the Cape Smith camps. The other was dismissed for incompetence on the job and indifference to the philosophy of the movement. Others from Cape Smith have worked at part-time jobs, but again not in the proportion to the numbers of Cape Smith people in the whole population.

This pattern of under-representation is also found in the committees. The tendency is to proliferate responsibility widely in order to involve as many people as possible in the organization. Thus there is a committee to oversee the sewing branch; another to oversee the acquisition of fish and country food; another to oversee the storage of same; another to oversee the maintenance of plant. The most inclusive is the executive committee of nine members whose functions are the same as those of executive committees elsewhere. Interlocking with this structure are the supervising and credit committees of the Credit Union. In these local cockpits of managerial and executive decision-making, the Cape Smith people have minimal representation. They seldom put themselves or one another forward as nominees for committee posts, although on several occasions Cape Smith people have been nominated by those from other camps with a significant stake in the Cooperative, presumably to try to draw the Cape Smith people into more intense involvement.

The comparatively low rate of involvement of the Cape Smith people can only be understood against a background of the history of the community and of its Cooperative. From the beginning a small core of men and a few women formed a nucleus of supporters for Father Steinmann's idea of a Cooperative. These were people who sold most of their carvings and other handicrafts through the new group rather than through the Hudson's Bay Company. The majority of people who carved for sale dealt with both the

Company and the Cooperatives. The evidence strongly suggests that few people understood the basic principles of the cooperative movement and regarded the local Society simply as an alternative outlet for handicrafts and later for furs.

The earliest supporters came from camps which had formerly been located close to the present settlement and were among the first settlers here. Many of these people themselves, or their parents, had traded with Revillon Freres before that Company's dissolution in the mid-thirties, as well as with the Hudson's Bay Company. As we have seen, the persons least involved in the Cooperatives were those from the Cape Smith regions, the camps of which had traded more exclusively with the Hudson's Bay Company. We also noted, that the Cape Smith people are noticeably ardent about their religious affiliation and there is some impressionistic evidence that they are more antipathetic towards the Roman Catholic Church than are Eskimos from other regions. There is also evidence that in the minds of some of them the image of the Cooperative is fused with that of the Roman Catholic Church on the one hand and of the Quebec French-Canadian ethnic group and provincial government on the other hand, in one mutually reinforcing complex of institutions. There is also evidence of a conception of a complex countervailing the one just described, made up of a fusion of the Anglican Church, the Hudson's Bay Company, and English language usage. We infer the existence of these conceptions from things people say and do, a few illustrations of which are now given.

An episode during the voting for the 1962 Provincial election was quite suggestive. The local polling station was in the Eskimo Room at the Roman Catholic Mission and a missionary who was very popular with the Eskimos and who was replacing Father Steinmann while he was in the south, was acting as returning officer. One Eskimo associated with the Cape Smith Group came

into the Eskimo Room to vote, but through some error his name was not on the electoral list. The priest told him in Eskimo that he would be able to vote if he swore on the Bible that his name was so-and-so and went off to the adjoining chapel to get a copy of the Bible. When he returned with it he found the man reluctant to take the oath, a reluctance which the Kadluna present attributed to concern about swearing on a Roman Catholic Bible. This simple hypothesis was called into question when the Eskimo, after lengthly consideration, suddenly turned towards the door, saying, "I won't vote. I don't want to trade with Coop, I want to trade with the Company!" This apparent non sequitur makes sense if we postulate a conception of the fusion between the Roman Catholic Church, the Cooperative, and the Quebec government on the one hand, and between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Anglican Church on the other.

One spokesman for a group of Cape Smith households gave as the chief reason for his reluctance to support the Cooperative Society his fear that his children would be brought up as Roman Catholics. The same man embarrassed the Anglican missionary by suggesting that he help the Cape Smith folk set up their own Cooperative. The missionary refused to support this idea on the grounds that such a small community as Povungnetuk should have only one cooperative and that cooperative organization should be separate from that of religious and ethnic affiliation.

It is easy to see how the local Cooperative gets identified with the Roman Catholic Church and with the provincial government. It was founded by a missionary, used mission facilities and is now heavily supported by the province. Almost all the visitors who come to work on behalf of the organization - representatives of the government, of the Caisse Populaire and Cooperative Federation - reside at the Mission during their stays, attend Mass in the chapel, and speak French among themselves, using English only with Kadluna monoglots and English - speaking Eskimos.

Father Steinmann and other Cooperative and Credit Union leaders take special pains to impress on the Eskimos that these organizations are secular and non-ethnic, that support for the organizations does not imply identification with the Roman Catholic Church or any Kadluna ethnic group. While most Eskimo supporters of the Society are convinced that this is the case, a small core of unconverted are not and remain suspicious and aloof.

The links between the Anglican Church, the Hudson's Bay Company and English-speaking ethnic identification are not so obvious and are more of a vestige from the past. In the old order in the Arctic, the interaction between the Anglican Missions and the Company post personnel has been intimate and mutually supportive.¹ This has not been through deliberate policy but rather through the people of both institutions sharing the English language, and, frequently, Protestant affiliation and British origin. With the current multiplying and diversity of Kadluna institutions in Arctic communities, the traditional Mission-Company relationship has virtually disappeared objectively, but the image of it lives on subjectively, we suggest, in the minds of some adult Eskimos. Such persons were not likely to embrace the cause of a Roman Catholic priest who did not conceal his intention to "put the Bay out of Business" by setting up what to many seemed at first a competing company.

In accounting for the initial antipathy or indifference of people towards the Cooperative, we must recognize the religious component in prevailing attitudes, but we must not exaggerate its significance. A few Kadluna 'friends' of the Cooperative do just this, laying the blame for lack of support among Cape Smith and other Eskimos on religious prejudice, bigotry, and the like. However, other factors have to be considered, not the least important of which is the role of the Hudson's Bay Company.

1. Good examples of the Mission-Company relationship can be found in published reminiscences of Arctic veterans. For the region on the east side of Hudson Bay, the account of Wanda Tolboom, wife of a post manager, in Arctic Bride (Toronto, 1957), contains several such examples from the period of the early 1950's, just before full invasion of the 'new order'.

Over the generations there has crystallized a profound dependence of Eskimos on the Hudson's Bay Company, especially where the economy approached the one-crop type based on trapping and where there was little or no competition from other traders. In such circumstances the Company controlled both production and consumption outlets and inlets, as well as the flow of credit. Dependence was even more profound where the post manager was munificent and extended credit in bad times and even to people who were classed as bad risks, for in such circumstances people were bound by ties of gratitude as well as of need.

We have suggested elsewhere¹ that Eskimos have typically responded to powerful outside forces, whether supernatural or worldly, by at least superficial compliance and that they pragmatically attach themselves to that agency which has demonstrated success. The formidable achievements of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Arctic are too well known to require enumerating here. There is much evidence that among the Eskimos in this region this powerful, successful Company was held in awe, perhaps not unlike the awe in which a patriarch might be regarded by juniors in his lineage. By the same token, some Eskimos link the memory of Revillons Freres with failure and associate it with the concept of French Canadians and the provincial government.

Nowadays in a diversified economy such as prevails at Povungnetuk, with its production and consumption alternatives and its alternative sources of credit, the traditional dependence of Eskimos on the Company is much reduced. However, the feeling of attachment to the Company is still quite strong among some people and especially among those who were closest to posts, acting as servants and guides.

Apart from the lingering attachments founded on the traditional role of the Company, we must consider the latter-day attractions of the store, modelled after the self-service supermarket in the south, a counterpart in miniature of the glittering world outside, glimpsed sporadically in movies, magazines, and

1. Vallee, 1962, esp. 192f.

catalogues. This new kind of store reflects the shift in economic emphasis of the Company from treating the Eskimos primarily as producers to treating them primarily as consumers, spending money derived from sales of handicrafts, wages, government transfer payments, relief, and so on, and to a dwindling extent from trapping. Consumers must be attracted and held and the bright, lively store, crammed with what appear in Eskimo eyes as opulent displays, is the main attraction. For some people the store is like a public amusement park. More likely than not, from beside the manager's office in the background, a record player fills the store with the favourite music of the Eskimos, Western songs and sacred songs performed in the folk style.¹

Finally, some Eskimos are attached to the Company by the employment it offers and by the continuing bind of debt incurred through it, debt of long standing or incurred by people who do not seek or cannot get credit through the Cooperative and Credit Union.

In summary, we suggest that the Hudson's Bay Company's drawing power, most effective among the Cape Smith element in Povungnetuk, is attributable to its established place in the old order; its links to the Anglican Mission; its demonstrated power and success, compared, say with Revillons Freres which it ousted; its new attractive store; and the credit hold it still maintains over some people. It is this drawing power of the Company post which local Cooperative leaders see as the chief impediment to maximum Eskimo involvement in the Society.

The Hudson's Bay Company has adopted the public position that it encourages local production cooperatives but that it sees itself as a local competitor to the Cooperative retail operations, the focus of competition being now more on sales to Eskimos rather than on purchases from them of carvings, furs, and so on. On the other hand, the staunchest Cooperative Society supporters view the situation more as one of conflict rather than competition. They argue that the Cooperative really cannot compete with such a huge

1. Some Cooperative members recognized the competitive advantage enjoyed by a store with such allurements and urged that the new Cooperative retail store, in the planning stage when the author left the community, be a kind of showplace.

organization as the Company with its massive resources, its control over much manufacture, its shipping facilities, its ability to win any price war at the local level by underselling the Cooperative there and raising prices in other stores where there is no competition, to bear the brunt of the temporary losses incurred because of the price war. They argue that, while the Company can tolerate a competitor in a community, it always retains the power to crush the competitor at will.

It follows according to this argument that the utmost loyalty is required from the great majority in the community to guarantee the survival of the Cooperative. Dealing with the Company is like dealing with the enemy, except where the Cooperative cannot provide the service or object required and such service or object is urgently needed. The plea is made for the kind of loyalty which transcends economic self-interest: even if it is cheaper at the Company store, one should still purchase it at the Coop.

Such pleas are a favourite theme at meetings of the Cooperative Society where membership involvement is sought. At these meetings the Company is not described by spokesmen as an evil thing that must be overcome but rather as a neutral and awesome fact of nature, say, a high mountain, that must be overcome. The public argument is not that the people who work for the Company are malicious or dishonest, although privately hints to that effect are not uncommon. Such an argument would not stand up publicly for some of the most respected Eskimos in the community, leaders in Church affairs and the Community Council, work for the Company. The Kadluna manager of the Company post is a friendly person, jovial and popular, on intimate terms with Father Steinmann and other Kadluna and Eskimos closely associated with the Cooperative. So the argument is not directed in terms of local personalities: these good people who work for the Company happen to represent an institution of overwhelming power, and overwhelming power exerted from outside - whether by governmental, military, or commercial agency - is said by local Cooperative spokesmen to be against the best interest of the

Eskimos, for it prevents their ethnic - and self-realization. Thus the argument is presented on the plane of cultural values and ideology. A favourite saying at such meetings is that "the Cooperative will not make you rich, but it will make you independent."

According to our evidence such arguments are visibly effective only among the core of leaders and people close to them in kinship and friendship. For some of the small core of people attached with the same bonds of intensity to the Company, these arguments repel them even further from involvement in the Cooperative when, infrequently, they do happen to attend a meeting. For the majority of people, membership involvement responds more sensitively to economic argument and especially to the demonstration of economic strength. Eskimos can readily understand that profits from Cooperative sales in the community are partially retained in the form of dividends, whereas those from Company sales flow away from the community; they can see that the Cooperative employs more people for wages than does the Company; they are impressed by the special marketing services of the Cooperative, oriented as they are to strictly local needs. Figures on patronage of the Cooperative over the years show that success breeds success, that where the Cooperative provides a new facility (space in the freezer to allow for the purchase of more country food for sale; stepped up marketing pressure in the south demanding an increased flow of carvings; and so on) the rate of patronage steps up among those people, the majority a few years ago, who divided their dealings between the Cooperative and the Company. These respond readily to ideological calls to action, after they have experienced economic benefit and have been convinced that the Society will survive as an economic institution.

Arguments based on Eskimo escape from under Kadluna domination through supporting the Cooperative are supplemented and reinforced by those based on traditional cultural values.

On several occasions we witnessed attempts to legitimize the cooperative idea in terms of its similarity to the traditional camp or band organization where, it was pointed out, everyone worked together and shared. The cooperative is the natural successor of the camp or band which, it is argued, was much weakened under the regime of individualistic trapping and the decline of group hunting. Opposition to the cooperative idea can thus be equated with opposition to Eskimo tradition and independence.

The Kadluna and Eskimo leaders of the movement in Povungnetuk also define opposition or indifference as a willingness to be exploited by the Kadluna - and the Hudson's Bay Company, in particular - and as a refusal to learn the economic and social facts of life concerning the Eskimo predicaments in today's world. The Kadluna and Eskimo managing elite use the meetings to get across messages about the evils of capitalistic exploitation of primary producers, and to explain how modern economic systems work. In doing so, they use the local domestic scene as well as the marketing and credit experiences of the Cooperative outside the community as concrete illustrations. Experiences in local and outside dealings have been used to illustrate such notions as the division of labour, capital formation, the function of investment, the ways in which money can make money, and other abstract ideas normally transmitted to people in our society at advanced levels of formal education, if transmitted at all.

The positive ideology of the Cooperative leaders is not combatted openly and publicly. It should be emphasized that opposition to the Cooperative in Povungnetuk is not organized. There is no structure through which opponents act in concert to counter the development of the Cooperative and no positive counter-ideology among the Eskimos. The outstanding feature of opposition is its passive defensiveness. As we indicated in an earlier chapter, actions to curtail the pervasive influence of the Cooperative is sometimes taken by the Anglican Vestry, but this

is not a grouping which has a consistent policy with reference to the Cooperative and acts as a countervailing force only on certain issues where it is felt that Cooperative demands take priority over those of the congregation. Thus it appears that the growing strength of the Cooperative as a social and economic movement would be substantially reduced only if outside markets for its products shrank drastically or if the provincial government withdrew its needed support.

Chapter IV

Economic and Social Implications

In this final chapter we trace some of the consequences of shifts in those economic and social patterns in Povungnetuk which appear to have been most accelerated and shaped by the development of the Cooperative Society there. Of course, it is impossible to isolate those consequences which are attributable exclusively to the Cooperative, but we can with confidence apportion appropriate weight and significance in certain spheres to the Society. For instance, there would almost certainly be a local carving industry without the Cooperative, but the emergence of carving as a major economic activity was accelerated and shaped by the Cooperative.

Looking first at the economic aspects, we note that the Cooperative has been instrumental in shifting the basis of the economy from one dependent on hunting and fishing for subsistence and the marketing of furs for income, to one primarily dependent for cash income on the sale of objects, such as carvings and items of dress produced mostly in the home, secondarily in the small 'factory' where prints are made; on the sale of services to tourists, a growing source of income; and on the wages to be gained from managing, coordinating and marketing these objects and services. These sources of income are supplemented by the continued pursuit of hunting and fishing for private consumption and by the continued pursuit of the fur trade, although on a much reduced scale.

The traditional economy was one of minimum subsistence with an extraordinary dependence on the elements and on the trader, who controlled the flow of credit. In the traditional economy the Eskimos produced furs for the outside markets - this was their output; their input consisted of certain personal and

household goods, such as tents, tea, sugar, flour and instruments of production such as traps, boats, rifles, ammunition. In the contemporary economy, the outputs are carvings, prints, garments, and other manufactured objects, services to tourists and to one another in the community. Inputs come in the form of cash, credit, and capital, in the form of instruments of production, buildings, copyrights and 'goodwill' on the identifying name of the Cooperatives. Links between the people and the markets outside are mediated by the Cooperative, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the two levels of government. Perhaps the best characterization of the change in the economy is to say that it has moved from one of primary production of wildlife to one of manufacture, organized primarily in a present 'cottage industry' system. In this shift the Cooperative has played a major role, and one the economic aspects of which we now examine.

It is difficult to establish in absolute fashion the significance in terms of economic value of the cooperative movement in the Arctic and of the kind of economic activities it engenders, for to do so would require our fitting it into the context of the Arctic as a whole and into the temporal context of the future as well as the present. This kind of wide-ranging assessment we refer to as Big Picture Thinking. Assessment in strictly local short-range terms we refer to as Little Picture Thinking. A favourable assessment focussing on the Little Picture might not look so favourable on the broader spatial and temporal canvas of the Big Picture. The attention of people examining the Big Picture of economic development in the Arctic is engaged by the exploitation of natural resources, such as oil, gold, asbestos, and other minerals, destined to move through the channels of world trade in massive lots. Images of enormous freight submarines, airborne carriers, elaborate installations, and the like, pervade Big Picture Thinking. Human 'resources' are thought of in terms of the processing of people through the machinery of school and other training programs to groom them into a technically competent, mobile work force.

In this perspective, local cooperatives, concerned primarily with next year's budget, the acquisition of a new store or small freezer plant, the hiring of a manager, and such matters, seem toylike. However, in the perspective of the Little Picture, looking through the eyes of the locals, the economic significance of the Povungnetuk Cooperative is not in doubt. The Society expected to do about \$225,000 worth of business in 1963, this in a community just over 500.

It is doubtful that even close to that amount of business could be generated, from both domestic and external economic activities, without the coordinating and entrepreneurial functions performed by the Cooperative. It might be argued, however, shifting to the Big Picture perspective, that even the substantial income-producing performance of the Cooperative is inadequate to offset the disadvantages of perpetuating what is, in effect, a 'cottage industry' type of economy in a society which is in an advanced stage of industrialization. A further argument is that the upper limit on the amount of income to be produced by the kinds of operations featured by the Cooperative - handicrafts, country food for domestic consumption, tourism - will not be sufficiently high to satisfy the rising level of wants among the Eskimo people, so that attention should be focussed on alternatives to the economic regime of the Cooperative.

But what are the alternatives? In very few places in the Arctic are there work opportunities in large scale industry. The closest prospective industrial development to Povungnetuk is the asbestos about two hundred miles away near Deception Bay. If production were to commence there within the next year or so - and this is only a doubtful prospect - the operation could absorb at the most a few hundred Eskimos. Most of the other Eskimos in Arctic Quebec are closer to the asbestos grounds than are the Eskimos of Povungnetuk. As far as industrial development is concerned then, there is no prospect within the near future that this will be a realistic alternative to what they are now doing for significant numbers of Povungnetuk people.

Another alternative, of course, is to move large numbers of families to other locations in the Arctic outside New Quebec or to southern Canada where they can be accommodated in the industrial mainstream through immediate employment or through training schemes. We do not entertain this alternative here for two reasons: First, other regions of the Arctic have problems of the kind discussed here with their own populations; second, those Eskimos consulted on this question made it clear that they did not want to migrate in any 'bloc' arrangement to southern Canada and that they wanted to live where they were. Some individuals would look with favour on subsidized moves to other locations where they can fit into the industrial mainstream, but they are few indeed.

Weighing the alternatives to the economic paths along which the Cooperative has channeled people in Povungnetuk, we conclude that the ones they now tread are the best ones, given the circumstances. We want to make it clear that we have in mind the community as a whole and not any specific individuals within it, for there are a few individuals known to us who would have acquired greater economic returns by going to other places to exploit their talents and potential.

In this chapter we want to concentrate on the Little Picture perspective of what the Cooperative has wrought. Not much of the remaining discussion will be set against the Big Picture perspective. It will focus on a microcosmic rather than on a macrocosmic level.

We look first at carving as an income producing activity, the cottage industry par excellence. Most carvings are made in or around the house. The individual carver depends on others only for marketing, the bulk of which is carried out by the Cooperative and the Hudson's Bay Company, with help from the federal and provincial governments. Now and then a well-known carver will receive a commission to produce a work for a specific person or institution, such as a museum, but the vast majority of carvings are simply sold over the counter of the Cooperative or the Hudson's Bay store, the carver having transferred all his rights to the product at the point of sale.

There are many obvious advantages to Povungnetmiut in the pursuit of carving as a chief source of income. First, a person can carve at any time of the year and can combine this activity with other income earning ones; second, the carver needs little in the way of capital or equipment; third, there is a much lower time-energy output per unit of reward than there is in hunting, trapping, and fishing; fourth, while the carver is dependent on outside markets, he can adapt to these markets, and therefore have an element of control over them, just as he has considerable control over his own time and place of work. We examine each of these advantages in turn, comparing carving to other traditional pursuits and to wage employment.

On the first point, trapping, hunting, fishing and most forms of wage employment in the settlement are seasonal, the persons following them having to adapt to demands completely determined by the weather, the habits of species, the vagaries of shipping, the decisions of Kadhuna officials and so on. On the other hand, a person can carve in or around his own dwelling under almost any conditions at any time of day or night; he can set his own schedule. He can combine carving with many other means of making a livelihood, although there are limits to the time and energy available for this or that pursuit.

On the second point, the carver's needs are simple. A few cheap tools and some soapstone, antler, bone, or ivory are the only material resources needed. The tools are procured at the Cooperative or Hudson's Bay store, the soapstone at one of the several deposits at varying distances from the community. Persons visit these deposits while on hunting and trapping forays, bringing soapstone back to the community with them. Some of this stone is retained for their own use, the remainder sold to the Cooperative for re-sale to those who need stone and have none on hand. Antlers, bone and ivory are procured and distributed in the same way. On the other hand, the person dependent on trapping and hunting, requires a dog team, boat, sled, traps, rifle, cartridges, extra clothing, and so on, which can be considerable capital outlay.

On the third point, the time, energy and capital equipment needed to produce one dollar's worth of fish, meat or fur in this region are very considerable. It would not be too fanciful to fix the rate of gain for someone engaged solely in these pursuits at something like twenty cents an hour.¹ The return per unit of time, energy and equipment spent in carving is, on the average, at least five times larger than this.

Finally, we take up the fourth point. Like the trapper whose return is determined chiefly by remote market conditions, the carver can never be certain about the demand for his product. However, he can be certain that at least he will have a product once he starts work on it. The trapper and hunter, on the other hand, face the risk of getting a very low yield or no yield at all as they set out on their long patrol, for wildlife abundance is dependent on a number of biological and environmental variables quite outside their control. The carver has more effect on market demand than has the trapper. The former produces a finished product, the latter a product which is the raw material for the process of garment making, a process over which he has no control. The carver has more control over consumer demand, and thus over his product, because he can always innovate and respond quickly to perceived preference in consumer taste.

One reason the Cooperative does not command even more and deeper commitment than it already does is that carving is more an individual enterprise than a cooperative one. People can market their carvings through channels other than the Cooperative.

¹. We cite a typical case by way of illustration. One team of two men and seven dogs visited their trapline south of Cape Smith. The patrol covered about 200 miles and the team was away for nine days. The men returned with seven foxes for which they received \$133.00 and some soapstone, for which they received \$13.00. However, their joint expenditure for the trip, in fuel for the Coleman stove and lamp, in dog food, depreciation to sled, harness and other equipment and clothing, was about \$63.00, leaving about \$83.00 in profit to be divided between them. The number of hours which these men were doing something which in the settlement would be defined as 'work' was about 125 for the whole voyage, giving an average of slightly more than twenty cents an hour. We want to stress that we are looking at such ventures only from an economic point of view; this is not necessarily the way the people involved look at it.

The implications of individualism pertaining to carving extend beyond the purely economic and Cooperative spheres, of course. Because of its individualistic, entrepreneurial nature, carving permits young people to work loose from dependence on parents; permits them to abandon school with 'legitimate' reason - to make money; permits old people to maintain an independent status, and so on.

In contrast, the person who invests his talents and energies in graphics - or prints as they are commonly called - is more dependent on a plant and more subject to the stringent requirements of consumer 'taste', and is more likely to get locked into the Cooperative than is the person who is primarily a carver. Before extending this discussion, it should be pointed out that people who carve a lot are also likely to submit prints for sale. That is, we are not dealing with categories of persons - carvers versus print makers - as we are with different kinds of productive activities.

A person submitting a print will either sketch it out on paper or scratch the outlines on soapstone. Several intervening operations are needed before the product can be put on the market. To get out a decent print requires the collaboration of several 'specialists' and access to production facilities, such as ink, rollers, the press and the skills which are required to use these facilities. The person so dependent has to operate within the framework of an organization - in this case the Cooperative Print Shop - not only for purposes of production but also for purposes of marketing the product. It is significant that the Cooperative payments for drawings and for work going into the production of prints are defined as 'wages', whereas the payments for carvings are defined as 'sales' or 'fees'. It follows that, as long as the Cooperative enjoys a monopoly of possession of printing facilities, the expansion of their printing operations will be more conducive to membership involvement than would be an expansion of their carving facilities. In short, there is a growing control on the part of the Cooperative over productive operations, because of their possession of printing facilities.

There is a growing control, also, over the flow of credit on the part of the Cooperative and its mate, the Caisse Populaire. As we pointed out earlier, the locus of credit control until recently was the Hudson's Bay Company. In that regime the extension of credit was determined by the Company representative according to criteria set up by himself, but informed by Company policy. These criteria had to do mainly with the requirements of outside markets. In the new regime, the extension of credit is determined by many of the same criteria as those used by the Hudson's Bay Company, but to these are added other, more personal ones, having to do with the character and connections of the applicant. Through the manipulation of credit facilities, the Cooperative and Caisse Populaire are getting into a strong position in the bid for total involvement in the movement.

Economic diversification has accompanied the growth of the Cooperative. Eskimos now perform many roles formerly perceived as 'belonging' to the Kadluna: store manager, bank clerk, bookkeeper, plant foreman, and so on. For many jobs the Cooperative leaders do the hiring. In recruiting they are not limited by rigid sets of requirements, such as the possession of certificates of competence, diplomas, journeymen's papers, and so on, the way that government agencies are in the Arctic, resulting in the exclusion of Eskimos from hundreds of jobs. In Povungnetuk an applicant is likely to get a vacant job if he can convince the Cooperative executive or manager that he can do it properly or can be quickly trained to do it properly, no matter what his formal qualifications. As a result of this policy, occupational role differentiation among the Eskimos in Povungnetuk is greater than in most Arctic communities.

Moving from a discussion of the primarily economic to a consideration of the primarily social, another consequence of the Cooperative movement in Povungnetuk is the legitimizing of a market or contractual kind of relationship among people who formerly were interlocked in exclusively kinship or "status"

kinds of relationships. In the traditional band and camp sharing patterns, the yield from the hunt was defined as a camp resource rather than as an individual or household one. Many writers on the Eskimos have documented how a group returning from a hunt were expected to allocate the proceeds of the hunt according to the traditional sharing patterns, whereas those who remained in the settlement working for wages, earning cash from carving, or living from relief, while receiving a share in the hunt, were not expected to allocate their cash proceeds in the same way. In new settlements, the kinds in which most Eskimos now live, where both hunting and other forms of productive activity are pursued in roughly equal measure, there resulted an imbalance of exchange in terms of community goods. The hunters were impelled by tradition to spread beyond their own households the gains of their outputs of time and energy, while the carvers, janitors, store clerks, and so on, were not. The latter had a market orientation to their energies and payoffs while the former followed the tradition of group reciprocity.

In Povungnetuk, the Cooperative through its role in coordinating production and consumption for local needs, provides the hunters with a recognized right to put their yield on the market within the community, for it buys the meat and fish from the hunters and sells these for cash.

This means that an area of experience has been opened up by the Cooperative for the people of Povungnetuk - trade, or impersonal exchange. Of course Eskimos are not totally unfamiliar with impersonal markets, having for generations carried out some trade across group boundaries among themselves and, in more recent times having had sporadic and very partial glimpses of remote outside markets through traders. However, apparently that trading process was little understood, being perceived as simply a face-to-face exchange with individual traders.

Nowadays, the people of Povungnetuk are exposed to the daily acting out of the market processes within their own households and stores and much of the socially and culturally induced fog of mystification surrounding the economy in which they are embedded is being dissipated. This is true especially for those on the

various committees and the executive employees who take part in decision making about pricing, management of surplus, credit policies, and so on. It is perhaps the kinds of insight into the workings of the economic system which will prove to be of most telling significance, as far as the adult educational function of the Cooperative is concerned. Once having had these insights, people are not likely to revert to the view of the world as a mysterious sphere of magically endowed personalities and ethnic groups, at least as far as economics and power are concerned.

Another characteristic of the Cooperative which is found in few other organizations, insofar as the relations between Kadluna and Eskimos are concerned is the definition of relationships in terms of fellow-membership and a denial of the asymmetrical shape into which almost all Eskimo-Kadluna relationships have been fashioned: missionary-catechist; RCMP constable-Eskimo special constable; Hudson's Bay manager-post servant, and so on. In the case of the Cooperative there is a self-conscious public denial that this ethnic imbalance exists or should exist and the Eskimo is defined as someone who has as much to say as anyone else. All this goes on against a background of a real imbalance between Kadluna and Eskimo in relevant skills, power and role.

In terms of social organization, the Cooperative serves to engage the local people with other cooperatives in the Arctic as well as with non-cooperative institutions in the south. We have described elsewhere¹ how cross-community links are being forged through the medium of the Cooperative movement in the Arctic and have suggested that the movement is likely to be a carrier of pan-Eskimo sentiments of solidarity. But it also serves, as suggested here, to tie the local people in with non-Eskimo institutions mostly of an economic and artistic kind.

1. See "Notes on the Cooperative Movement and Community Organization in the Canadian Arctic", Arctic Anthropology, 2, 2, 1964, p. 48.

The Povungnetuk Cooperative has become the major decision making structure in the community. Its very success could inhibit the establishment and development of formal local government units which might become part of larger regional and provincial government structures. On the other hand, if ever such local government bodies are established, the people to direct and staff them are likely to have been leaders in the Cooperative Society and Caisse Populaire, which provide the training grounds for the acquisition of the kinds of skills and outlooks required for effective local government.

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